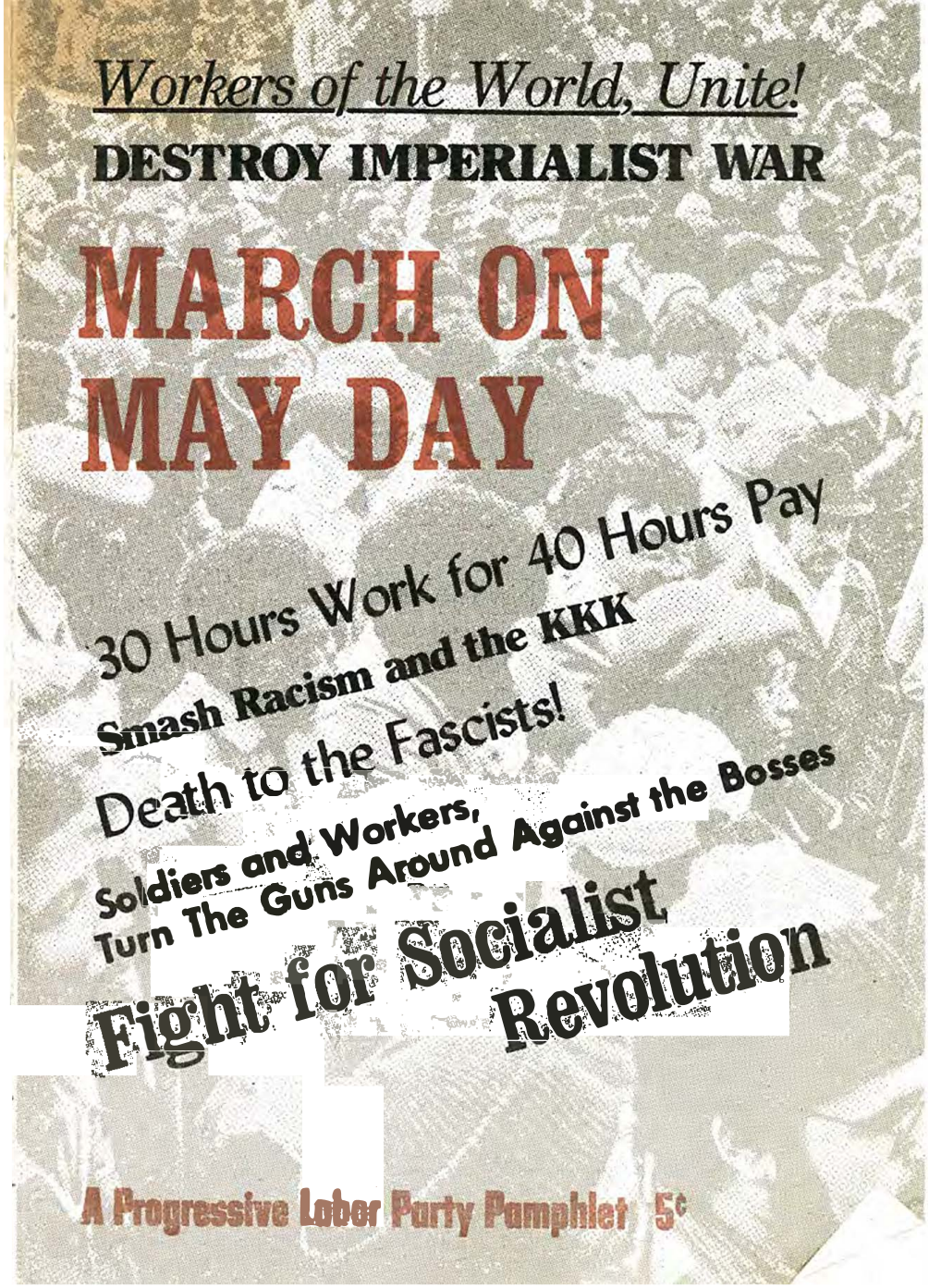
March On May Day
May 2 - Join the PLP!

Washington, DC
Chicago
Houston
Los Angeles

venom against U.S. workers; the banner of 30 hours work for 40 hours pay –fighting the betrayals and contract-smashing of the Frasers, Wurfs, Gotbaums, Kirklands, McBrides, Winpisingers and their cohorts who stand ready to defend capitalism to the last drop of our blood; the banner of anti-fascism–organizing to send the bosses' Klan and Nazis to an early grave.

The present permanent crisis of U.S. imperialism, scurrying like rats on a sinking ship, is filled with many dangers, with its build-up towards war and push towards fascism. Already 50 million people die each year from starvation, due directly to imperialism's profit drive. But this crisis also presents the revolutionary movement of workers and students with the greatest of opportunities. The best and **ONLY** way to minimize our casualties is to join the Progressive Labor Party and **turn the guns around**–turn imperialist war into class war of workers against bosses. We won't let these murdering bosses just sink with their capitalist ship. No, we must beat them to death or they'll come back to oppress us once more.

This is the message of May Day, 1981, a warning to the ruling class, and a call to arms to our co-workers and friends. Workers and students: march under the red flag of Socialist revolution, the flag of the Progressive Labor Party! MARCH ON MAY DAY!


Workers of the World, Unite!
DESTROY IMPERIALIST WAR
MARCH ON MAY DAY
30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay
Smash Racism and the KKK
Death to the Fascists!
Soldiers and Workers, Turn The Guns Around Against the Bosses
Fight for Socialist Revolution
A Progressive Labor Party Pamphlet 5¢

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class family, as millions walk the streets without jobs, especially youth. This is even more true of non-white workers who suffer double and triple the "normal" jobless rates because of racism.

The "most powerful economy in the world" is falling like ten pins, with plant closings at Chrysler and Ford signalling the demise of the key auto industry. Out-of-control inflation continues alongside this unemployment; interest rates are out of reach of the average worker, unless one can pay loan shark levels of 20 per cent and higher. Costs of essential city services are climbing out of sight—the Chicago subway/bus fare shot up to 80 cents on its way to the dollar mark and beyond this summer.

In all this the role of the union "leaders" has become particularly insidious. They have gone beyond "merely" selling out the workers in contract after contract, to full-scale collaboration with the bosses and their government servants. The UAW's Fraser, now on the Board of Directors of Chrysler, is an integral part of the swindle that has already robbed Chrysler workers of over ONE BILLION DOLLARS in wages and benefits, besides laying off tens of thousands permanently. This is called "sharing the sacrifice" while the banks rake it in. As U.S. bosses more and more need fascist conditions to keep the working class in check, these union traitors become their front men to lead the way.

YET EVEN WITH ALL THESE ATTACKS ON WORKERS AND students, with all this help from the labor fakers, capitalism can hardly get out of its own way, so inept are some of its machinations. Unfortunately, when they can't protect people from volcanoes in Washington or from freezing cold and fuel shortages in the Northeast, it is the workers who suffer the most. What is in store for those youth who have joined the army because of joblessness can be seen in the escapades launched by the Brass in the Iranian desert to spring the "hostage"-spies or in the 13 soldiers killed in "exercises" supposedly readying the U.S. "rapid deployment force" for imperialist adventures in the Middle East. Both were fiascos.

But even here the oppressed are fighting back. From the sailors who boo the national anthem at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station (site of a sailors' rebellion not too long ago) to Ft. Eustis, Va., where and InCAR chapter is forming, led by PLP, to fight against the Klan and against racist imperialist war plans—all this bodes well for the future organizing in the military begun by PLP and InCAR.

So when we march this year on May Day, we are unfurling the banners of international working-class unity—fighting against racist, imperialist war abroad and against attacks on immigrant workers here at home to smash all capitalist-created borders; the banner of anti-racism the world over, in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa, Latin America and elsewhere who are oppressed by the very same bosses spreading their racist

dalism have spread like wildfire from Long Island to New Jersey to the Mid-West to California. This fascist upsurge has emerged with ties to fascists in Britain, Belgium, Germany and other European countries—a worldwide phenomenon.

But just as significantly, the fight-back against these assaults has been increasing. The fascist acquittal of five white cops who murdered a black man in Miami led to a rebellion by black workers and youth in that city that revived memories of the mass rebellions of the Sixties, battling cops, storming police stations and burning businesses of thieving merchants. When Carter himself came to Miami to try to calm things down with empty promises, he was literally chased and stoned out of town by angry rebels.

Other smaller rebellions against racist unemployment, racist police brutality and racist harassment erupted in Chattanooga, Orlando, Wasco, Cal., Philadelphia and Flint, Mich., among other cities.

Some of the biggest, most organized answers to the fascists were led by PLP and InCAR. Klansmen and Nazis were routed by anywhere from 100 to 1,500 angry workers and students in Rockford, Evanston and Oak Park, Ill.; in Southern California, especially attacking Klansman Metzger who captured the Democratic nomination for Congress from San Diego; in Detroit; in Minnesota where the fascist butcher Ian Smith was silenced; and finally in Scotland, Conn., where over 600 angry workers and students bloodied scores of Klansmen and would-be Klansmen trying to attend a police-protected Klan rally in a rural area.

OPPOSITION TO THE KLAN AND NAZIS BEGAN TO EMERGE IN union locals, again organized by PLP and InCAR—with resolutions aimed at denying union funds to the Democratic Party sponsors of fascist Metzger as well as opposing other ruling class approval of these vermin. This occurred among Oakland postal workers, Seattle boilermakers, Sacramento glaziers, and San Francisco office workers and others. The confidence of workers in communist leadership was symbolized by the election (after two previous leadership invalidations) of a member of PLP and InCAR to the Executive Board of the 5,000-member Metro bus drivers local in Washington, D.C. Thousands of other workers voted for anti-racist InCAR candidates and communist PLP'ers in locals across the country.

In much of this fight-back, InCAR has begun to emerge as a significant mass grouping of black, Latin, Asian, Native American and white workers and students as **THE** anti-racist organization, multi-racial and rank-and-file-led.

The purpose of the rulers' drive to more overt fascism has failed to do the job it is organized for: to prop up the bosses' political position over a declining economy that is attacking the workers' living standards left and right. Unemployment hangs like a cloud over the lives of every working-

The Birth of May Day

"There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

THOSE WERE THE LAST WORDS OF AUGUST SPIES, on Nov. 11, 1887, as the hangman's noose was tied around his head, murdered along with three of his class brothers by the U.S. ruling class for having helped organize the working class of Chicago and the country in the fight for the 8-hour day.

It was out of that struggle that May Day was born, an event proclaiming the solidarity and common goals of the international working class. U.S. bosses have tried to portray May Day as something "imported" from "foreign" shores. Actually May Day is one of the great contributions made by U.S. workers to the struggles of the world's working class. No wonder bosses here try to bury May Day as they did the scores of workers they killed when it began.

In answer to the 14-hour day, 6- and 7-day week of the 1880's, along with the mass unemployment of capitalism's periodic crises, more than half a million workers became directly involved in planning a national strike for the 8-hour day, mainly through the then-militant AFL and the short-lived Knights of Labor. The Chicago Central Labor Union, a center of left-wing activity, called for a general strike for the 8-hour day for May 1, 1886. May 1 came and Chicago stood still. "No smoke curled from the tall chimneys of the factories and mills," reported one paper. "Tens of thousands downed their tools and moved into the streets."

The Chicago ruling class became hysterical as they saw their profits being stamped out by thousands of marching workers. They began locking out workers throughout the city and ordering the

cops to break the strike. On May 3, the cops murdered six strikers at the McCormick Reaper Works. The next day thousands marched in protest into Haymarket Square. The cops attacked. A bomb was thrown (later to be revealed as most probably by a police agent). In the ensuing battle seven cops died and four workers were murdered. Over 200 were wounded in what became known as the Haymarket Massacre.

SCORES OF MILITANT WORKERS WERE ROUNDED UP in a massive witchhunt. Left-wing union leaders were convicted of "conspiracy" in a thorough-going frame-up and four were later hanged. While nearly 200,000 workers won a shorter work-day, within six months the bosses' counter-offensive took it away from all but 15,000. But the fight would not be stilled.

Another general strike was called for May 1, 1890, the beginning of the historic May Day working class holiday. At the July, 1889, meeting of the Second International (an international working-class organization patterned after the First International led by Karl Marx), after a report from the U.S. delegate on the 8-hour struggle, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Congress decides to organize a great international demonstration, so that in all countries and in all cities on one appointed day the toiling masses shall demand . . . the legal reduction of the working day to eight hours, as well as the carrying out of other decisions of the Paris Congress. Since a similar demonstration has already been decided upon by the American Federation of Labor, . . . this day is accepted for the international demonstration."

On the eve of the first May Day, Frederick Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx, wrote: "As I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as One army, One flag, and fight for One immediate aim: an eight-hour working day . . . The spectacle . . . will make the capitalists and land-owners of all lands realize that today the proletarians of all lands are, in very truth, united."

SOON REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNISTS ASSUMED THE main leadership responsibilities for May Day. A pamphlet written

overseas; and the working class, along with students and pro-worker professionals, in many cases led by PLP and InCAR, are mounting a growing fight-back to prevent our class from being dragged down into the bosses' snake pit of war and fascism.

The twin tinder boxes of the Middle East and Latin America have witnessed some of the most violent struggles. The Khomeini fascists in Iran are locked in mortal combat with the Iraquis, a war that has not only turned off significant oil supplies to the Western/Japanese industrial axis but has threatened to erupt into a larger conflict that would block the sea lanes carrying oil to a large part of the world.

In El Salvador, the U.S.-backed fascist Junta is murdering thousands of workers and students in a desperate attempt to save their dying rule. In Mexico, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Argentina and other South and Central American countries, workers have been striking against fascist regimes and to prevent starvation wages from becoming the norm.

Since last May Day, strike waves have hit the auto industry in South Africa and Italy, with the black workers of the former fighting not just for economic demands but against the fascist Apartheid dictatorship.

Meanwhile, the U.S. bosses' chief rivals for world domination, the Russian bosses, are having their own troubles as they attempt to displace the U.S. rulers in market after market. While they consolidate their hold over Afghanistan, new problems have arisen in Poland where a movement directed against the Polish rulers–traitors to the cause of Socialism–is allying itself with the most right-wing elements of Western capitalism.

Amid all the shakiness of their world position, the Rockefeller-led U.S. ruling class has attempted to use the "hostage"–spy crisis they created in Iran to whip up patriotism to the bosses here at home. But this whole sordid affair can't hide what the bosses are doing to U.S. workers.

THE ELECTION OF REAGAN BY A MERE QUARTER OF THE voting age population–with 70 per cent of the blue collar workers boycotting the balloting–has signalled still new attacks on workers and students. The period leading up to, and following, Rockefeller's replacement of Carter with Reagan has witnessed an even more overt fascism across the U.S.

Following the acquittal of the Klan and Nazis who murdered five people in Greensboro, N.C., black and Latin workers and children have been murdered in cold blood in Buffalo, New York City, Rochester, Atlanta and other cities. The fascist climate pushed by the bosses and their media build-up of the Klan and Nazis, combined with the academic racists of the Shockley-Jensen stripe on the campuses, have put the ammunition in the guns and the ideas in the heads of the racists who have pulled the triggers in this brutal, racist holocaust. Klan cross-burnings and anti-Semitic van-

and people won to that ideology and to PLP.

We do not fight for Socialism solely for the material benefits to be won from it; if we do, we lay the basis for it to be reversed, because then we will not be ready to help other revolutionaries or even more exploited sections of our own people if it means "losing" material gain. We must fight for the **idea** that bosses and capitalism must be eliminated from the face of the earth, and until that is accomplished, any material gain is threatened because the basis for a democratic distribution of the fruits of the working class's labor is threatened. So we fight for revolution over reform; for ideology over material incentives, because that is the only way we can come close to guaranteeing working-class rule.

VII. Why We March on May Day

These are many of our communist ideas. They are not just "theoretical" ones from history but are proven in the every-day life of capitalism in the U.S. Capitalist exploitation leads to mass layoffs, racism, inadequate medical care, rotten schools, fascism and imperialist war in which we, the working class, die defending U.S. bosses against other workers (who are dying defending their own bosses). Our only answer is to build a party and a force for revolution that can eliminate these evils by digging up and destroying their roots.

May Day is that day in the year when we "marshall all our forces under one flag," the flag of revolution, along with millions of workers around the world, to demonstrate on behalf of our needs and demands, and especially of our committment to overthrow capitalism. It is a great building time for the party of the working class; many workers and students join the party on or around May Day, inspired by the living proof of a multi-racial organization fighting for revolutionary change.

THIS YEAR, 1981, PLP IS ORGANIZING FOUR MARCHES--IN Washington, DC, Chicago, Los Angeles and Houston, all on Sat., May 2. They are being co-sponsored by the International Committee Against Racism. May Day this year occurs at a time when a cauldron of class struggle is boiling up around the world. Since May Day 1980, the international ruling classes have moved significantly closer to world war; U.S. bosses continue to suffer defeats world-wide while their economy here at home is in a shambles, leading to their ever-increasing pushing of overt fascism here and

Strikers at McCormick's Reaper Works attack Chicago cops during battle for eight-hour day, May 3, 1886

by the great revolutionary leader Lenin from prison in 1896 declared that May Day was the opportunity to reveal the "class development of the proletariat and its open struggle for Socialism."

Throughout the years, with communists in the lead around the world, May Day came to symbolize the demands and class interests of the international working class—in fighting against the imperialist World War I, in the organization of the CIO and the mass production industries in the 1930's in which the 8-hour day was finally established in the U.S., right into the Cold War of the late 1940's in which millions marched all over the world against the rise of U.S. imperialist terror at home and abroad.

But, because the U.S. Communist Party abandoned any goals for workers' power in this country, by the 1950's May Day had degenerated into a small gathering of a few hundred "old-timers" who made peace with the bosses, especially the liberals. Trade union leaders who had formerly supported and marched on May Day now betrayed the workers in an era of sellout unionism.

It remained for the Progressive Labor Party, formed in the early 1960's, to pick up the red banners of May Day from the premature

grave prepared by the bosses and their flunkies, honor the Chicago workers who fought its first battle and carry it forward in this decade under the proclamation of the Communist Manifesto, the working class's first declaration of revolution: "Workers of the world, unite! We have nothing to lose but our chains! We have a world to win!"

I. What Is PLP?

THE PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY–ORGANIZERS OF MAY Day marches this year in Brooklyn, New York, Chicago, Illinois, Houston, Texas and Los Angeles, California–is a revolutionary communist party. Our main aim is to lead the working class to seize state power and organize society with the working class, the producers of all value, in control of all production, distribution and services. This means wiping out the capitalists and their profits. This is Socialism.

Communists cannot accomplish this aim through "conspiracy" or trickery. The goal can only be reached when a sizeable majority of the working class understands that we live in a class society; that we, the workers, are the class of the overwhelming majority but control nothing; and that the only way to change this is through a revolution. Through such an understanding, many workers join, and most workers will follow, a revolutionary party which becomes the general staff of the working class in this class war for state power. It is this role to which the PLP aspires. It can only come about if we communists bring our communist ideas **openly** to the working class and its allies, and in the course of battling side-by-side against the bosses, prove that only these ideas, and the Party that organizes around them, can create the solution to **ALL** workers' problems.

II. What Are Communist Ideas?

A. How Bosses Rob Workers

The central economic under-pinning of capitalism that makes it

it work, both benefitting from the experiences and errors of previous revolutions (an experience that Soviet workers did not have, since they were the first), and engaging in criticism and self-criticism throughout the working class, led by the Party, to insure a self-corrective process over any mistakes that will surely be made.

VI. Reform vs. Revolution

For a long time in PLP's existence, our members have engaged in militant action against the bosses and their agents around the immediate needs of the working class and its allies among students, pro-worker professionals and intellectuals, etc. We tended to put Socialists ideas, and building the Party to make a revolution, on the back burner. After much discussion and self-criticism, we feel we have made an error and are in the process of trying to reverse that error. We now see the absolute necessity to tie every immediate reform struggle to the need to overthrow capitalism, not merely to try to win the reform.

In the last analysis, no matter what immediate gain we wrest from the bosses, **they have the state power to turn around that victory**, and therefore do it all the time. The only way to get off this treadmill is to eliminate capitalism altogether. But that requires a strong communist party with deep roots in the working class and other exploited sections of the population. Therefore, the only real way to win in the immediate day-to-day struggles is **to build a force for revolution—the Party—out of them.** This is the one victory that is hardest for the bosses to take away, since it is one that is committed to overthrowing them, not merely to fighting over a nickel raise.

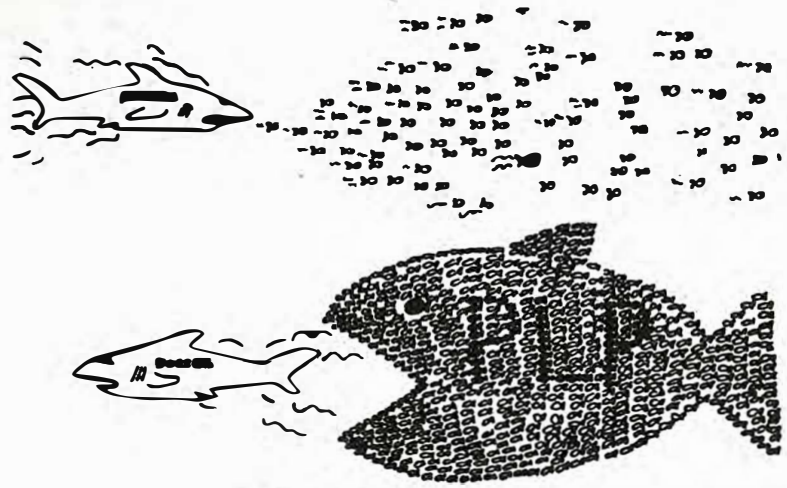
THIS PLACING OF REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS OVER reformist ones is no easy task. Capitalism is constantly attacking us every day with layoffs, cutbacks in services, racism, war, fascism, etc. We could easily expend all our energies and thoughts in how to beat them solely over the immediate issue. But that will always leave us back where we started, still with a ruling class holding state power and able to attack us in still another way the next day. It is only when we have eliminated the bosses **as a class**, along with their state power to enforce their existence, that we will be in a position to make immediate gains **and hold them.** Therefore, it is **revolutionary ideology** that must emerge from each struggle,

because, similar to racism, the profit motive that spawns it has been smashed. The working class bends all its efforts to not only insure a boss class does not rise again, but also **to aid revolutionaries in other parts of the world to also seize state power.** This is extremely important, since if not done, the bosses in other areas who look on any working-class state—no matter where—as a threat to them, will use their state power to invade and crush any working-class state. Helping other revolutionaries and working classes is not merely a question of comradeship; it is a life-and-death question for any working class who has seized state power itself. It is in their direct self-interest to help the spread of revolution.

ONCE PROFITS AND BOSSES HAVE BEEN OUTLAWED, the basis exists for the unlimited expansion of the fruits of mental and manual labor. Only then can people develop true equality, can there be a real flowering of working-class culture as opposed to the decadent, pornographic violence typical of capitalist culture in its death throes. With the bosses and their profit system out of the way, workers can develop a real collective spirit—at work, in production and distribution, in schools for their children, in the family and among all social relations. This collective spirit, this "brotherhood" which capitalism and its religions always pay lip service to, for the first time in human history becomes a reality because the basis for individualism—the dog-eat-dog philosophy of the capitalist profit system—has been eliminated.

Is there any guarantee that Socialism will not bring a new set of bosses to oppress the working class? This is what has happened in the Soviet Union and in China where the seizure of state power by the working class has been usurped and the revolution reversed through a capitalism run by state bureaucrats who constitute the new ruling class. **There is no guarantee.** There is only the fight to spread communist ideology among the masses of people, the confidence that workers can develop in each other that cannot be compared to the confidence workers could never have in a Rockefeller or a Reagan to "give" us a decent life. After all, if we need a guarantee that Socialism once won will not be reversed, before we decide to fight for it, we are not left with any middle ground without that gurantee. We are left with capitalism, and with the **SURE GUARANTEE** that we will continue to be exploited.

So we have no choice but to fight for Socialism and fight to make



Why do we need the Party?

tick, is the relationship between workers and bosses. Capitalists own all the factories and machinery (all of which were made by workers). Workers own only their labor power which they sell to the capitalist in exchange for wages. Workers' labor power creates new value in the process of production. That is, workers take all the raw materials needed to manufacture, say, an automobile and, using their collective (or social) labor, produce finished cars. This end product is worth far more than the sum of the individual raw materials used. This new value is what workers add through their labor power. But the workers' wage does not equal that new value—far from it. The bosses pay that worker as little as they can get away with. That part of the value added by the workers which the bosses keep for themselves is called "surplus value." It is from this source that all profit is derived.

This conflict, or contradiction, between workers and bosses is based on the fact that the workers produce all value in **social** production but a tiny minority of bosses own that production and its finished products which they sell at a price far higher than the value of the wages paid to their workers—private ownership and

profit vs. social production.

Thus, two antagonistic classes exist under capitalism: the capitalist class which owns the means of production, and the working class whose labor power produces all value. All oppression, all workers' problems, all obstacles to a decent life under capitalism, stem from this one central fact, that workers cannot collectively decide how to use the full value that they produce. Under Socialism, bosses and private profit are outlawed. The working class decides exactly how, and for what, the value it produces will be used.

BOSSES ARE CONSTANTLY LOOKING TO "CAPTURE the market," and drive their competitors down. They invest huge sums of the surplus value robbed from the working class into new plant and machinery (capital investment). There is no over-all plan; it's every boss for himself. But, since workers are not paid the full value of what they produce, and since the bosses, in their insatiable and anarchic drive to reap maximum profits cause tremendous over-production in both the means of production and then in the finished products, a periodic crisis results—a depression. Millions of workers are laid off, factories close, workers are forced onto welfare or starve, while—ironically—needed goods, food, etc., go unsold and are destroyed. Under Socialism, depressions are impossible because the working class, in deciding how to use and appropriate the value it produces, **PLANS** production to serve the working class, not to make profit for a tiny minority of bosses.

B. Capitalism, An International System—Imperialism

As bosses accumulate larger and larger amounts of surplus value, they seek to invest this profit to gain the highest return on their capital. Since capitalist relations of production are worldwide, and since the working class in some countries is weaker than in others, capitalists from more developed countries invest in areas where workers can be robbed of even greater amounts of surplus value than in their own country. Often these international capitalists—or imperialists—need the raw materials in other

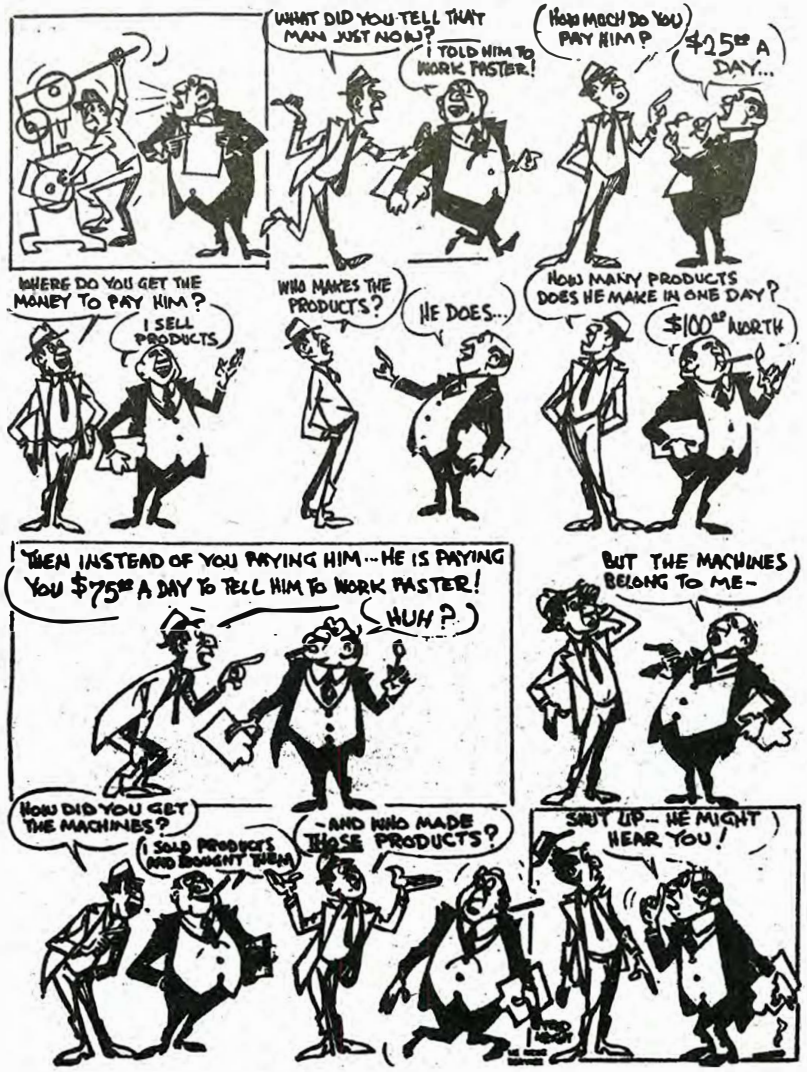
whelming majority—should rule must put forward the concept of violently crushing the capitalist class, of outlawing both them and their profit system. There is no other way; history and the nature of the Rockefellers, Fords, GMs, etc., give us no choice.

That is why communists fight for a **dictatorship of the proletariat**. This is the greatest expansion of democracy yet devised, since it gives the overwhelming majority the power to crush their exploiters and allows a mass collective decision to determine what happens to the value produced by the working class. This requires a dictatorship of the majority over the tiny minority of former capitalists **to prevent them from taking power again**. Every former ruling class will make another bid for power. The only way to stop that is by force, the only language the bosses understand since they use it themselves as standard operating procedure.

A real revolution takes place when one class—the exploited, majority working class—smashes the state power of the other, ruling capitalist class, and then erects their own working-class state power, putting arms into the hands of the working class with which to enforce workers' state power. Then it becomes possible to wipe out the bosses, physically where necessary, and take over all of the means of production.

HOWEVER, ONCE THIS REVOLUTION WERE TO HAPpen, this seizure of state power, it does not automatically turn off the ideology that capitalism has turned on for centuries. A long battle ensues to win all workers and their allies to a new Socialist ideology. This class sturggle and the take-over of the state and means of production by the working class is called Socialism. Once the ability of the working class world-wide to prevent the bosses and their ideology from making a come-back is complete, then there will be no necessity for any state power, only for administration of the means of production, which will be run by the working class. There will be abundant production of goods and services for as much as is needed by everyone. This is called communism.

Under Socialism, exploitation of workers by bosses is banned. There is no profit to be made off anyone's labor. Racism is outlawed. Those practicing it are jailed and either rehabilitated, if that's possible, or executed, depending on the nature of the crime. Women are freed from special oppression, inequality, etc.,


WHAT DID YOU TELL THAT MAN JUST NOW?
I TOLD HIM TO WORK FASTER!
HOW MUCH DO YOU PAY HIM?
$25.00 A DAY...
WHERE DO YOU GET THE MONEY TO PAY HIM?
I SELL PRODUCTS
WHO MAKES THE PRODUCTS?
HE DOES...
HOW MANY PRODUCTS DOES HE MAKE IN ONE DAY?
$100.00 WORTH
THEN INSTEAD OF YOU PAYING HIM--HE IS PAYING YOU $75.00 A DAY TO TELL HIM TO WORK FASTER!
HUH?
BUT THE MACHINES BELONG TO ME-
HOW DID YOU GET THE MACHINES?
I SOLD PRODUCTS AND BOUGHT THEM
-AND WHO MADE THOSE PRODUCTS?
SHUT UP-- HE MIGHT HEAR YOU!

countries to use in their domestic production, such as tin from Bolivia or rubber from Indo-China. They finance the extraction of these raw materials at low cost based on super-exploitation and then sell the finished products back to these same countries at a far higher price. The difference can only be financed by still greater oppression of the workers and farmers of the colonial country.

So bosses make super-profits off the labor power of workers in other countries in two ways: (1) by extracting raw materials at a low price and selling the finished product back at much higher prices; and (2) by actually setting up factories in other countries and producing finished products there far more cheaply (and therefore more profitably) than domestically. For instance, Ford and General Motors pay auto workers 56c an hour in South Africa while they have been forced to pay U.S. auto workers twelve times as much. They make profits in both situations, but their rate of profit in South Africa is far higher.

C. How Imperialism Leads to War

Just as bosses engage in fierce, cut-throat competition within their own country, so do bosses fight each other on a world scale, over the areas of investment described above. Sometimes a few bosses will come to an agreement on controlling production, prices, etc., and set up a cartel to eliminate the destructive effects of cut-throat competition. But, more often than not, the bosses of various countries cannot come to an agreement, since one group is stronger than another and don't feel they must. The less powerful and the more powerful fight each other the only way they know how—through war.

Both World Wars were the result of such conflict and resulted in a re-division of the world's markets and areas of investment. Different powers emerge on top after each war—whether world-wide or local. In the course of these wars, millions of workers—who fight the wars—are killed: 100 million lost their lives in World War II.

After WW II, U.S. bosses emerged as the super-power. However, with the reversal of workers' power—Socialism—in the USSR, and the assumption of power there by a new set of bosses, the Soviet

Marxism-Leninsim, its world view of dialectical materialism, to discuss any obstacle facing the working class and its allies; bring to bear all its experience and that of its base among workers; then comes to a majority decision on a course of action and employs the full strength of **ALL** its members who are duty-bound to carry out that decision.

Thus, the party can operate as a solid fist on behalf of the working class, rather than as individual fingers each going their own separate ways. And, once agreed on a course of action, the party has a leadership committed to carrying out that action, testing its ideas in the class struggle, among workers and others, with the ability to come back to the party, evaluate the results, engage in criticism and self-criticism of its members and actions, and arrive at a new and better course of action based on a testing of its ideas in the real word. It is this kind of party that can organize the strength of the working class to take advantage of all the insoluble contradictions that beset the opposing capitalist class, and to fight and win a revolution.

V. What Is A Revolution?

We see that under capitalism there is not "democracy for everyone" but decisive control over production and the government by a tiny minority class that owns the means of production. We also see that whenever or however their ability to make profit is challenged, they can bring to bear their state power to squash that challenge or rebellion. While a facade of "democracy" exists, it is just that, a facade. When the chips are down what we have is a dictatorship of, by and for the bosses. This we call **the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie**.

History shows that no previous ruling class ever gave up its power peacefully or willingly. They always fought a bloody but losing battle. Given the reaction of the present ruling class to militant reform fights—such as the struggle for the shorter work day or for unionization—against which they have pulled out all stops, including murdering workers, there is no reason to believe that this set of oppressors will not fight violently to preserve their exploitative system itself. Therefore, those who feel the working class—who produces everything of value and comprise the over-

themselves to suicide in the face of obstacles to a decent life, but have always fought back.

Fourthly, they have organized the manufacture of the weapons with which they can be destroyed if the guns are but turned around, which is the history of all previous revolutionary overthrow of capitalist ruling classes—the revolutionaries used the weapons taken away from the bosses themselves. With all their massive nuclear power, how reliable are their armies made up mostly of workers whose class interests are the same as all workers?

Fifth, there is a body of ideas, and a history of there being carried out, that has created a communist revolutionary movement over 125 years old, beginning with the Communist Manifesto in 1848, continuing through the Paris Commune, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the defeat of Hitlerism by the Soviet working masses, the Chinese Revolution of 1947, right through the emergence of a revolutionary communist movement here in the U.S. over the past 15 years with the growth of the Progressive Labor Party.

We have much to learn from the successes and mistakes of the past and can apply them in the future. We have the benefit of being able to trace the rise and then degeneration of revolution in the USSR and in China, so that we will avoid the mistake of making material incentives the primary agent of progress, but rather will put forward communist ideology as the moving force of Socialism.

IN THE U. S., IT IS THE EXISTENCE OF THE Progressive Labor Party, a revolutionary communist party, that lays the basis for the overthrow of capitalism. The fact that PLP can make the kind of analysis of the system that appears in these pages, in our newspaper **CHALLENGE-DESAFIO** and in **PL** magazine; can organize class struggle around the fight aginast the bosses and show how these struggles are tied to socialist revolution; and has united all kinds of workers—black, Latin, Asian and white; men and women; young and old; immigrant and native-born—in its ranks; all these ingredients add up to the nucleus of a general staff for working class revolution.

It is only a communist party that operates on the ideas put forward in this pamphlet, that functions in a democratic-centralist way, that can lead the working class to its liberation. Democratic centralism is the method by which the party uses its science of

state capitalists are challenging their U.S. counter-parts for world supremacy. Already the Soviets have taken the lead in many areas. As long as the working classes of these two giant capitalist powers, and of the rest of the world, allow these two to battle it out, another world war is inevitable. As long as imperialism exists, such world wars are inevitable. Only Socialism can end world war because it eliminates the profit system which spawns such wars. With the major countries of the world socialist, imperialism would be wiped out, with its super-exploitation and killing of millions.

D. How Bosses Enforce Their Robbery—
The government or state apparatus

Since the working class is the overwhelming majority of the population, what stops it from enforcing its will, of taking ALL the value it produces, of reaping the full benefits of its mental and manual labor? And since the bosses form only a tiny minority of the population—less than 1 per cent of the U.S. population owns and controls all the major industries—how are they able to maintain this gross inequality?

The key to this "puzzle" is who holds state power. When workers strike simply for a higher wage (not even for the full value they produce), why can't they just impose their will on the bosses? In fact, why do they have to strike in the first place? Because the bosses hold state power and use it to enforce their class interests. They never give up profits willingly. They fight tooth and nail for the highest profit; otherwise, some other boss, who fights harder, will drive them under. Under capitalism, as in any system of society, one class controls the government and uses that power—in this society—to maintain capitalist relations of production.

So when the workers strike, the bosses go to their courts for an injunction to legally end the strike (or limit picketing to make the strike ineffective). If the workers refuse to obey the strike-breaking injunction, the bosses' government moves their cops (or Army or National Guard or state troopers) onto the scene to physically smash it and arrest the strikers. Many times workers are clubbed and beaten up. Sometimes they are murdered. Others are prosecuted, framed, and jailed as a "lesson" to the rest not to fight for their rights. Once

convicted, some are executed. All this was involved in the events leading to the birth of May Day and the fight for the 8-hour day (for just "part of the pie," not the whole thing) as described earlier.

Of course, strikes for higher wages or shorter hours are not the only actions that incur the wrath of the bosses' state power. Often minority workers and youth rebel against the intolerable conditions and mass unemployment in the slums in which the bosses force them to live. Then, too, the bosses move their armies into action. Throughout the 1960's, in the North and the South, with black and Latin workers merely fighting for jobs or the right to sit at a lunch counter, the repressive arm of the bosses' state was brought to bear against them to protect racism, another source of super-profit for the capitalists (of which more shortly).

NOW THE BOSSES WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE THAT THE government does not belong to them or to any one class, but that it is "neutral," "fair," and does not take sides. All citizens are "equal before the law." And, in "fact," we all have the "right to vote" and to "elect our government." If we don't like Republicans, why we can just vote in the Democrats the next time. This is "American democracy."

But, as most workers are coming to realize, democracy and voting are all a sham. (In the 1980 presidential election, 48 per cent of all people over age 18 did not vote, nearly twice as many as the number who actually elected Reagan, "chosen" by 26 per cent of the voting population.)

Whenever there is a conflict between workers' rights and bosses' profits, the latter will **always** win out, if not immediately, over a period of time. Did you ever hear of cops entering a factory during a strike and beating up the bosses until they grant striking workers a raise? Never, because the law says capitalists have a right to make as much profit as they can; it's too bad if workers can't pay their bills or kids get sick or the rent's too high. "That's life" (under capitalism, for workers).

"Democracy" exists as long as workers don't exercise it on their own behalf to take what's rightfully theirs. Once that happens, once workers strike for an 8-hour day, or now for a 6-hour day, or

Accompanying and supporting this band of misleaders is an assortment of fake "revolutionaries" who prey on workers' desire for revolution by "calling" for revolution (and sometimes not even going that far) but always lead workers into settling for reform. These groups—which include the hopelessly sold-out "communist" party, a band of trotskyist sects like the "Socialist Workers" Party, the "revolutionary union," etc., and some more openly police-run outfits like the U.S. "Labor" Party—all profess to some brand of "socialism" but **none of them fight for a workers' dictatorship over the bosses**. Rather they support one or another of the sellout reformers, trade union misleaders, nationalists, etc., and ally with other betrayers of working class revolution around the world, be it in the USSR, China, or elsewhere. They do agree on one point, among others: PLP is no good and don't work with them. The feeling is mutual.

IV. Are Bosses All-Powerful?

Given all that the bosses have going for them—control over production, the state apparatus, the mass media pushing their anti-working class and anti-communist ideology, and assorted traitor-flunkies in the ranks of the working class—given all this, is it possible to overthrow them, to get rid of capitalism with all its oppression of workers and others, to establish a worker-run society, of, by, and for the working class and its allies? We say most definitely yes, and here's why.

Firstly, the bosses have brought millions of workers **together** in social production laying the basis for organization of the working class on a **mass** scale.

Secondly, the bosses themselves face **insoluble** problems in trying to maintain their own system. They cannot overcome the contradiction between themselves and the working class who they rob by their very nature. They can only turn around, mislead, etc., but **they cannot put workers' problems to rest as long as capitalism exists.**

Thirdly, they cannot stop rebellion. It is as old as the capitalist system itself, and has existed in every previous exploitive society. Men and women are **social** beings and have never resigned

freeze; among minority people against racism; among women against inequality; among immigrant workers against deportation and for decent wages and conditions; among all strata of workers, students and intellectuals against imperialist war—the ruling class wants another option besides simply naked terror to deal with it, since that only exposes them more and raises the stakes of the class struggle to a point where workers look to revolution as the solution. Enter the reformer.

In every movement the ruling class has its agents, its flunkies, as well as some who unconsciously do its bidding, all of whom tone down the militancy of the masses, mis-lead and mis-direct, channel all desire for change into the maintenence of the capitalist system, and generally sell out the struggle. These misleeaders, in effect, are saying you "can get a bigger piece of the pie within the system"; that "capitalism may be bad but it's better than any other system" (meaning Socialism); that if you go beyond trying to reform the system, the ruling class will crush you with their mighty power; that either "you never had it so good so why complain" or "times are bad so we can't ask for 'too much' right now." All these are variations on the theme of "we can make the system work for us; we can reform capitalism."

IN THE UNIONS, THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF THE KIRKLANDS, the Frasers and Winpisingers, the McBrides and Sadlowskis, the Wurfs, the Churches, the Shankers and Gotbaums and the rest of the pack of traitors that control the U.S. labor movement. Among minority people it's Shirley Chishloms, the mis-leaders of the NAACP and CORE, the Hatchers and Bradleys and Coleman Youngs, the Diggs and Dellums, the Chavez's, etc. In the women's movement it's the Betty Friedens and Gloria Steinem.

These sellouts are the "lieutenants of capital" in the ranks of the workers and their allies. They are the junior partners of Big Business, who, in exchange for their cozy nook in the system, will put on a fighting front but always deliver the workers into the arms of the class enemy, because they function on the basis of capitalist ideology and mislead people into thinking that you can reform the system. You cannot reform a system that is built on profits, with state power in the hands of the profiteers.

fight racist oppression, or for any goal that conflicts with bosses making maximum profits, then we see which side the "impartial" government is on.

E. Why Fascism?

Bosses don't like to expose themselves and the fact that the

government or state power is an instrument of their class, the ruling class. They would prefer to hoodwink workers into believing that their problems are due to their own shortcomings, or "fate" or simply "that's the way things are," that's "human nature" and "you just can't change it." But in certain situations, workers refuse to accept this. Furthermore, at those times when the anarchy of capitalism and the fight between bosses internationally reaches a fever pitch, and they cannot keep their own heads afloat through the usual processes, they must resort to a more open, naked rule—fascism, the norm for capitalism in crisis. When things get real tight, the bosses cannot brook any opposition, and must attack the living and working conditions of the working class even harder, in order to shift the burden of capitalist crisis onto the workers' backs. They must depress the wage scale, intensify racism, outlaw strikes, etc. Because of the weakening of their system, they drop the facade of "democracy" and use naked terror—torture, assassination, mass jailing, etc.—to maintain capitalism.

This is the direction U.S. capitalism is moving right now. But this only sharpens the irreconcilable contradictions between the two classes, intensifies the class struggle and creates even more opportunities to turn it into a fight for a new system, Socialism. It is also because U.S. rulers need fascism to wage imperialist war abroad that the communist slogan of "turn the imperialist war into a civil war" for working class power hits the nail on the head.

IN SUMMARY SO FAR: WE SEE THAT THERE IS A class struggle between two anatagonistic classes; that one produces all value while the other owns everything and reaps most of that "surplus value"; that this imbalance produces crises, depressions, and—in the fight among capitalists internationally—war, in which workers do the fighting and dying and take the losses; that the bosses enforce the drive to maximize profits by control of the government, the state apparatus, which, in "good" times is masked by "democracy," "elections," etc., and in times of crisis becomes the open terror of fascism.

The question arises:why does the working class and its allies allow these conditions to continue? It is because the ruling class, controlling the mass media and workers' lives from the cradle to

does the ruling class push feminism, a movement usually led by middle- and upper-class women, which directs much fire against men, while putting forward the goals of placing women in the editorship of the bosses' magazines, in the bosses' Congress or on the bosses' stock exchange. That is what the capitalists would like women to have as the path for their liberation from oppression. Communists point out that this will only keep working-class women buried in a morass of boss-oriented goals while all working-class women continue to suffer the discrimination caused by capitalism as long as capitalism exists.

D. Individualism:

One of the kernals of capitalist ideology that helps maintain boss control is the idea that a person's fate is "up to the individual"; that "you have to look out for yourself, for number one" because no one else will; that you "get ahead in life by stepping on the next guy"; that "it's dog-eat-dog" in this world so "don't stick your neck out" for the your neighbor because you'll only get it cut off.

The bosses push this anti-collective ideology for several reasons: (a) so that workers will never blame capitalism or the ruling class for their problems but instead wll look to themselves for the cause of "success or failure"; (b) so that workes will not look to unite with each other to fight together as a class against the bosses; (c) so that an individual worker will look at his situation as "me against the world" and feel hopeless to do anything about his/her problems or simply "leave it up to fate." This, of course, is right up the bosses' alley, since they know how to unite all their state power against the working class, especially a divided one.

E. Reformism:

While the bosses would love it if the effect of all this ruling class ideology resulted in a lack of fight-back by workers, that has never been the case. Workers have always fought back, many times in the bloodiest fashion, a history that the rulers also like to keep well-hidden. So, when workers do organize a mass movement against some aspect of their oppression—in the unions against a wage

C. Special Oppression of Women:

Another big way the capitalist class divides and robs the working class is through discrimination against, and the special oppression of, working-class women. First there is the unequal pay for the same work. By painting women as "inferior" to men, as "belonging in the home," as "weaker," the bosses can get away with paying women less "because" they are "second" wage-earners in the family, or "they are only working for 'pin-money'," or they are "robbing men's jobs," etc. This lower pay for women puts billions into the bosses' bank vaults and the ideology behind it keeps the working class split in still another way.

The bosses put women under capitalism in a "special" position of having to "keep house," raise the children, and, when capitalist inflationary crisis make it imposible for one wage-earner to support a family, forces women to work two jobs—in the offices and factories directly for the bosses, and in the un-paid labor of the home and raising children, which is necessary to produce future workers for the ruling class.

After dumping all this on the backs of working-class women, they then turn around through the mass media, movies, TV, magazines, ads, commercials, etc., and paint women as sex objects, existing only to serve men, tied into knots over whether they will ever "land a man," etc. Yet women, historically, have fought this role, have produced some of the greatest working-class leaders, have led strikes, have led opposition to imperialist wars, have crushed scabs on picket lines—male and female scabs—etc.

AND EVEN AS BLACK AND LATIN WOMEN HAVE FACED the triple oppression of being exploited as workers, as minority workers, and as women, so have they been in the forefront of the struggles of the working class, from the time of slavery right through two world wars and the organization of the CIO to the fight against the slave labor of the welfare system of the 1970's.

Here, too, the bosses try to turn around these struggles of women against oppression by using capitalist ideology to pit women against men. They place the "cause" of the inequality on men rather than on capitalism which draws extra profits from it while keeping the working class divided in still another way. Especially

the grave, is able to push capitalist ideology which both nets it super-profits and keeps the working class, the only class that can overthrow capitalism, weak and divided.

III. What Are Capitalist Ideas?

A. Racism:

The fraud that white people are superior to people with darker skin color is the main basis enabling the U.S. ruling capitalist class to keep the U.S. working class split, unable to mount a sustained counter-attack against the bosses. It is also a source of tremendous super-profit for the bosses, perhaps as much as $100 **BILLION** a year! Going back to the time of slavery, black people have always been discriminated against in this country. They have been the last hired, the first fired or laid off, given the worst and hardest jobs—as a group—paid the lowest wages, been kept out of skilled jobs, excluded from many unions and industries, pictured as "lazy" and "dumb," forced to live in slums, given the worst medical care, the worst schools, etc.

The sum total of this racist discrimination is reflected in the fact that black family income is only 60 per cent of white family income in the U.S. This is the super-profit bonanza for the bosses. And this racism is also directed against Spanish-speaking people, Asian-Americans, immigrants and Native Americans (whose unemployment rate is 90 per cent!).

BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY WORKERS HAVE NEVER taken this racist oppression lieing down. Starting with the slave revolts and continuing on through the last part of the 19th century and right through the 1970's, black and other minority peoples have led strikes, organized, marched, fought, produced ghetto rebellions, battled the cops and the National Guard, etc., to counter the bosses' racist assaults on their lives. This the bosses try to keep well-hidden (or distorted) from both minority and white workers—from the former so they think there's no way out of racist oppression, and from the latter so as to prevent the special leadership of minority workers from serving as an example to the

whole working class, white workers included.

But the bosses' racism, while affecting minority workers the most, also attacks white workers. When the ruling class gets away with layoffs and cutbacks against black and Latin workers, it uses this victory to set up white workers for similar treatment. When the bosses, through racism, can maintain a large pool of unemployed minority workers, they can use this situation against white workers, threatening them with similar victimization if they don't work faster or refuse to take pay cuts.

So racism ends up lowering the wages and conditions of **ALL** workers, including white workers. And, of course, it keeps the working class divided so it cannot bring its full, united strength to bear against the bosses as a class. Therefore, if workers, especially white workers, do not fight to smash racism and racist ideology, they will never be in a position to overcome the capitalists' control of production and state power.

B. Nationalism:

Ever since the rise of capitalism, nationalism has been a favorite weapon of the ruling capitalist class to impel each country's working class to identify their interests with that of the bosses in "their own nation," rather than identifying themselves as part of an **international working class** opposed to **all** bosses on the grounds that all workers are exploited (as outlined in the section on "how bosses rob workers.")

Through control of schools and the media, the bosses foster the notion that "we"—bosses and workers—must stick together against "them"—"foreigners." Going right through the pledge of allegiance in kindergarten on up to joining the armed forces to protect "our" country, U.S. rulers try to blame problems caused by capitalism on "foreign" workers, on immigrants, and on "foreigners" generally. Right now they blame mass unemployment on so-called illegal aliens, rather than on the crisis of capitalism. (When unemployment is lower, the bosses love to import immigrant workers to work for peanuts under threat of deportation. When capitalist crisis causes unemployment to rise, they then lie that "aliens" are "robbing" jobs from "Americans," jobs which pay $2 an hour and less.)

The crucial reason bosses push nationalism, "our country right or wrong," is to have cannon fodder in wars to fight workers of other countries who are dying for their bosses. U.S. imperialists like Rockefeller would never be able to enforce their control over super-exploited workers in other lands unless they had U.S. workers willing to fight in imperialist wars. Here, too, U.S. bosses are facing problems. They were forced to end their imperialist venture in Indo-China mainly because U.S. soldiers were refusing to fight; over 500,000 deserted. Hundreds of thousands of others avoided the war altogether by dodging the draft (the real reason for the "all-volunteer" army).

Another aspect of nationalism is the reaction of black, Latin and other minority workers to racist oppression. At the same time that the bosses tell white workers the racist lie that minority workers threaten them, they also push the idea among minority workers that white workers are the cause of racism, rather than the capitalist class. The bosses foster the notion that black or Latin workers should "stick together" among "their own kind," should seek "power" for themselves to protect against white workers—"black power"; "Chicano power"; etc. They parade black professionals, lawyers, small capitalists, etc., before all black people as the goal for them—black capitalism, the "right" to be exploited by a black ruler instead of a white one.

Of course, U.S. bosses are not about to give up their power to any other bosses, black or otherwise. But they use this garbage to give minority workers an "alternative" to unity with white workers who they blame for racist oppression. And they also spread this nationalism to the rest of the world when it suits their interests. They will deal with black rulers in Africa as easily as white ones, as long as they maintain imperialist control and continue to suck profits out of these areas.

White workers do have varying degrees of racist feelings towards minority workers, engendered by generations of ruling class brain-washing. This is the **effect** of racism, not the **cause** of it. If it is not rooted out of white workers, they will never be able to pursue their class interests as workers against the bosses. Both racism and its by-product, nationalism, are anti-working class and have got to go.